

# THE KEYNOTER



"THE CANDIDATE OREGONIANS DRAFTED"

APIC Interview: Patsy Mink for President
How Hale the Chief? • Clinton in Michigan
Davy Crockett for President • FDR in Barnesville

### Editor's Message

This issue features the first in a series of interviews being done for *The Keynoter* by APIC member Richard Rector. Rector is seeking to interview the myriad of presidential hopefuls that float around our political system. Our society places such a premium on success that those who come in second or further back are often dismissed. Republicans tend to be a bit kinder to their losers. Barry Goldwater and Gerald Ford were always welcome at the national convention. Democrats were a tad harsher. One rarely heard from Walter Mondale or Michael Dukakis at later conventions.

It is funny to realize that a figure like Michael Dukakis, whose name was cheered by millions and who was the focus of attention at the 1988 Democratic National Convention, now walks down the streets of Boston without so much as someone to carry his briefcase. John Anderson, who managed one of the most successful independent presidential candidacies in history, can be easily approached in the cafeteria of the college where he teaches. In 1980, I did such an interview with George Romney long after he had been the leading candidate in the 1968 presidential polls.

Collectors and historians have a special interest in these figures. They were players in the biggest game. Some, like Hubert Humphrey, were major players. Others, like Patsy Mink, were smaller figures making ideological statements. Nonetheless, one of the pleasures among political collectors is exchanging the stories about just who are some of these people on their old buttons. Who were George Gray, Leonard Wood, Richard Bland, William Allison, Albert Ritchie, Arthur Vandenberg and all those other people who names and faces appear on buttons with the magical words "for President"? Fifty years from now, those who come behind us will be asking the same questions about Gary Hart, Ed Muskie, Phil Crane, Lamar Alexander, Frank Church and others.

Hopefully *The Keynoter* will continue to be a source of answers to such questions for many years to come.

Michael Kelly



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APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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# THE APIC KEYNOTER

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**Covers:** *Front:* Patsy Mink poster from the 1972 Oregon presidential primary. *Back:* Socialist Labor Party flier.



#### IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The winter issue will feature a look at New York City's Reform/Fusion/Republican mayors, especially Fiorello La Guardia.

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### Patsy Mink for President '72

(A Keynoter interview by Richard Rector)



The Keynoter

In 1972, the Democratic Party was in a state of flux. Lyndon Johnson was back in Texas, Bobby Kennedy was dead, Eugene McCarthy was out of the Senate and Hubert Humphrey was tarnished by Vietnam and his 1968 loss to Nixon. The presumed front runner, Ed Muskie, didn't make it past the New Hampshire primary and the eventual nominee, George McGovern, wasn't seen as a heavyweight. In this leadership vacuum no fewer than seventeen candidates entered the primary, including the mayors of Los Angeles and New York City and three members of the House of Representatives: Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, Shirley Chisholm of New York and Patsy Mink of Hawaii. The two congresswomen were from districts nearly as far apart as was geographically possible. In the Winter 1989 issue, The Keynoter presented an interview with Rep. Chisholm. This issue features a discussion with Rep. Mink.

*Keynoter:* You were fourteen at the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor. I realize that you were living on another island but did you see or hear anything?

Mink: Not of the attack, no. As a matter of fact, that occurred in the morning around seven o'clock and I did not hear about it until seven in the evening, on the radio. We turned on the radio after dinner and of course it was pitch dark already at that time in the winter and nothing came on.



Keynoter correspondent Richard Rector interviews U.S. Rep. Patsy Mink in her office. Note the copy of *The Keynoter* on the table, which features an interview with Eugene McCarthy.

There was a lot of static and rattling and we said "Gee, something's wrong with the radio". And every now and then they would have intermittent announcements, and that's the first inkling we had that something had happened. I was off on the island of Maui at that time.

Keynoter: After graduating from the University of Chicago Law School, you became the first Japanese-American woman admitted to the Bar in Hawaii. Did you have any trouble with your fellow attorneys or judges when you went to court?

Mink: Well, I think they were amused, not hostile; maybe prone to a little more intense inquiry or challenging my arguments. A little harassment, legal harassment, but we were so few in that profession that we served as no threat and I think they only become active in their hostility if there is a threat. I was no threat to them at that point.

Keynoter: You were elected to both the house and senate of the Territorial Government of Hawaii. After statehood you were elected to the state senate. Was there really much difference between the Territorial and State Governments of Hawaii?

Mink: No, but we had to end one and begin another. So we essentially all had to run for office again once we got statehood.

Keynoter: Were you involved in the statehood effort? How do you feel about statehood for Puerto Rico and Washington DC?

Mink: I support statehood for both places. (I was) very active in the statehood movement. While in that movement I did not believe we would ever get it. I thought it was an exercise in utter futility. Because every time we came to Washington, all we would get is this huge storm of opposition based on the fact that we were noncontiguous and full of non-white people whose loyalty was questioned, etc., etc.

Keynoter: In 1959 you were a candidate in the state's first congressional election. But a last minute switch by Dan Inouye from a U.S. Senate race to a House race resulted in a loss to now-Senator Inouye. You were said to have bitter feelings against him. Have you forgiven Senator Inouye?

Mink: I have no bitter hostility to him at all. He might have some against me, but I don't have any towards him at all. I have some hostilities against the Party for their various machinations at that time. They tried so hard to get me to drop my campaign. Making all sorts of offers, counter offers, threats, whatever. But that was not Inouye, that was the Party. They wanted a smooth, orchestrated transition from Territory to Statehood.

Keynoter: You won your first congressional election in 1964, making you the first Asian-American woman elected to congress. Were you really treated that differently from your freshman colleagues?

Mink: Well, yes, most prominently by the press. A lot of the attitudes are determined by the press coverage. I had such intense press coverage when I came, I felt like I was on display. I became quite agitated by all of the press attention. My husband had to calm me down and said, "Listen, this is not going to last forever. When you look back on it, you are going to be sorry that you weren't happier about all the attention." (Laughs) But it really got to me because I couldn't go anywhere or do anything, say anything without all this huge press coverage. What I wore, what I said, where I went. I mean photographers were out there stalking me. So I was quite upset about the whole thing.

Keynoter: There are a number of photographs of you with President Johnson and Vice President Humphrey. What

were your impressions of them?

Mink: Well, I liked Vice President Humphrey I thought he was a wonderful person. I liked his actions and his points of view and his basic philosophy agreed pretty much with mine. So I enjoyed talking to him and working with him. I did not know Lyndon Johnson on the same basis. He was President at the time I came so the relationship was very formal. I had a number of occasions to meet with him, sometimes with as few as three or four members. The one time I remember was with Wayne Morse, discussing the Vietnam War, in which he promised both of us that we would be out of it by the end of the year. (Chuckle) Of course, we weren't. But he was a gentleman.

*Keynoter:* You were an early feminist. Some critics today say that feminism has become too radical or that the movement is over. How do you feel about the current state of the movement?

Mink: Now or then? Now? Oh, no, no, no. I think that we may have been at the beginning of the movement in the late sixties and early seventies, but certainly the movement has mellowed quite a bit since then. Not as militant. We've accomplished a lot and it could be because of that. It

doesn't appear to me that they are out there in the front with leadership on the issues that I care about.

*Keynoter:* 1972 was a busy year for you. Why did you enter the race for the Democratic Presidential Nomination?

*Mink:* You can ask my friend Gretchen Kafoury that. She was the Oregon state coordinator for my presidential campaign and is with me here at this interview. She probably can answer the question.

Kafoury: Patsy didn't initiate this action. We were feminist, against the war, progressive and had followed [Patsy], probably because of this national attention that you were talking about. But we had followed Patsy's career back here, and I think her being from Hawaii made a difference, whereas Chisholm, being from New York, seemed so far away. So we courted her, we did a dance and she finally capitulated. By the end of '71, in that winter, she finally said, "OK you get me on the ballot by petition." She wasn't going to file. She was going to get on by petition, which had to be statewide signatures. Then she said she would come. Didn't you come every week for eight weeks?

*Mink:* Every week for eight weeks.

*Kafoury:* Eight weekends she came. So that's why she did it. *Mink:* Thursday night to Sunday night.

Kafoury: She was an incredibly wonderful speaker as well and part of the allure for us was that in the fall she had spoken at the Democratic State Convention in Klamath Falls. That was, I think, just as we were gearing up to try and get you to run. She was a very powerful and articulate speaker.

Keynoter: Why the late entry? (Mink and Kafoury responded with a look of surprise) Well, I guess it seems late to me since the states where your name appeared on the ballot were in the later part of the primaries.

Mink: Well, I only ran in Oregon. I ran nowhere else, just in Oregon, because of their campaign and the fact that the







Rep. Mink greets President Lyndon Johnson on a visit to Hawaii. Mink was elected to Congress during the 1964 Johnson landslide over Goldwater. She later broke with LBJ on the war in Vietnam. To the left are buttons from her congressional and senatorial races.

#### PATSY MINK

Democratic Candidate for

#### PRESIDENT

3204 Fillmore Street Eugene, Oregon 97405

Who Patsy Mink Is ... Why She Is Running For President ...

"Only a small flame is needed to ignite the smoldering masses of people who despair... but who want to believe again."

#### A Challenge To Politics-As-Usual

GIVEN THE NATURE of presidential campaigning with its "horse race" aspects of selected entries into primaries, it seems to many who are more concerned with issues and the substance of the campaign that nothing will change this year despite all the pontification about convention reform.

Patsy Mink and others who are distressed by this election "derby" have been deliberately prevented from having any voice in the so-called participatory democracy which was to emerge from the aftermath of the Chicago convention of 1968.

Reforms to the contrary notwithstanding, the campaigns have moved in much the same pattern as in the past, with reliance on polls, followed by pronouncements of key endorsements, more pledges and the amassing of elaborate organizations—still high fashion in electioneering. Nor is much thought paid to stirring the country on important issues or appealing to Democrats on the basis of why we must do things differently.

Patsy Mink has entered the presidential campaign in Oregon to prove that campaigning can be divorced from personality cult. She believes that the national politics of 1972 must be geared to issues if Democrats are to win.

Millions of Americans—and in 1972 added millions of young people—may not vote in the election unless they are provided with reasons which require their participation. Mrs. Mink's entry is giving substance and purpose to the campaign in Oregon. Her very presence there is evidence of the struggle she is prepared to undertake to help motivate the electorate into believing that Democrats are capable of withstanding the heat of controversy in order to afford the people of this nation a real and sub-



stantive choice in 1972.

It is significant to note, however, that Mrs. Mink did not enter Oregon on her own initiative. Her campaign represents a genuine draft movement by Oregonians who reached the same conclusions she did. Active Democrats, men and women; asked her in July to be their candidate. They had perused the field of potential contenders and decided they wanted Patsy Mink to voice their discontent with politics-asusual.

Mrs. Mink is a remarkable person who has demonstrated great ability and integrity over 15 years in elective offices. She is in her fourth term in the U.S. House of Representatives, after exemplary service in the Hawaii House and Senate. An attorney, she is among the most articulate and effective members of the House Committees on Education and Labor, and Interior and Insular Affairs. She is widely respected by her colleagues as a leading champion of human rights, civil liberties and social progress

IN OREGON ON MAY 23, Mrs. Mink hopes to become the first woman to win a presidential primary election. As a national convention nominee by elective mandate, she would also establish another "first" for a woman.

She has worked tirelessly and effectively for equal rights for women, but this goal is just one of the many causes with which she is identified. Newspapers—"women's sections" in particular—tend to isolate women politicians to women's issues. But a review of Mrs. Mink's work shows she is equally concerned with improving the effectiveness of our programs in education, health, housing, job-training and transportation.

Printed by the Mink for President Committee - Mrs. Erica Hovet, State Chairman, 3204 Fillmore St., Eugene, Oregon 97405

people with whom I was associated wanted to make a special statement on the war. The fear that summer before was that although McGovern was running, his statements, his posture were taking a different route. He was making speeches on the economy and other things more domestic, putting aside the leadership that he had shown on the war. So the concern that was being expressed in Oregon was that we need someone who's primary focus is going to be to get us out of the war. That's basically what pulled us all together and how we were able to get the campaign together. But our idea was only to allow Oregon to lead the way, to nominate a candidate from Oregon who would present to the entire country this focus and this attention.

*Kafoury:* Remember, at the time Wayne Morse was our Senator.

Keynoter: Did you participate in any candidate debates?

Mink: Candidate debates?

*Keynoter:* There was a series of major candidate debates. I don't know if you were involved with any of those or not.

Mink: I don't remember.

Kafoury: There wasn't a McGovern - Mink debate.

*Mink:* I don't think we had any. We didn't have any place where the candidates were there and debating. No. We had forums but basically they were things that we organized where I was the primary spokesperson.

Keynoter: With the presidential candidacy of Elizabeth Dole, pundits are predicting that in the next century we will have women as major candidates in every presidential election. Do you agree?

Mink: Well, I don't know that it will be every one. But I think that women are going to be serious about running from now on. With Ferraro's candidacy for Vice President, I think we are just beginning. I hope that there will be more.

Keynoter: Weren't you both a delegate and a candidate at the 1972 Democratic National Convention?

Mink: Yes, I was.

Keynoter: How did this dual role work out?

Mink: Oh, no problem, no problem at all.

*Kafoury:* By the time of the convention the primary was over.

*Mink:* Well, that's true too. The Oregon primary was in May.

*Kafoury:* We would have happily had her nominated at that convention.

*Keynoter:* In April of 1972 you went with Rep. Bella Abzug to the Paris Peace talks to try to get things moving. Can you tell us about that?

Mink: Yes, I joined her in our little effort there primarily to try to get the talks back into actuality. The parties had quit the negotiations and refused to come to the table. They were arguing about the size and shape of the table and some things like that, rather then the substance. So we visited all the delegations trying to see if we could find some way to get everybody together. While we didn't succeed, it was our small effort to try to contribute towards the end of the war.

Keynoter: Considering the amount of press criticism the trip received, do you have any regrets about making the trip?

Mink: No, no, not at all.

Keynoter: You have been a delegate to almost every Democratic National Convention since 1960. I was a delegate to the 1992 Democratic Convention. Our photographer here (Dan Duncan) was a delegate to the 1988 Democratic Convention. Our editor was a delegate to the 1992 Republican Convention. A lot of our readers have at least run for delegate. So could you please share with us some of your most memorable convention experiences?

Mink: That's hard to say. Each one is so different. But always the focus is, of course, on who is running for President. I remember being at one where I championed Adlai Stevenson and wanting him desperately to win and to be our nominee. [National Vice President of the Young Democrats Patsy Mink spoke on behalf of the Civil Rights plank before the 1960 Democratic National Convention]. I worked for Bobby Kennedy; he never was able to make it to the convention. But I've always been active in the presidential conventions. It's hard to say which one was the most memorable, certainly the one I was in.

Keynoter: Your presidential race and your Paris trip upset some in the Hawaii Democratic Party and they found a challenger for you in that year's Democratic primary. How did you survive this challenge?

*Mink:* Challenger in '72? I don't remember having a challenger in '72. Did I?

*Kafoury:* I don't think so, if you had a serious challenger we wouldn't have been able to persuade you to come.

Mink: No, no. I agreed to come in the fall of '71. Kafoury: But May of '72 was the primary.



Rep, Mink laughs about a recollection from a past campaign. A congressional button is shown at the right



Mink: I don't know if I had a challenger. I may have had one in '74.

Kafoury: When is your primary?

Mink: In September.

Kafoury: I suppose you could have had one by September. Mink: I think I did have one in '74. In '76 I ran for the Senate. So whoever was hostile had a chance at me in '76. (Langhs) And it may have contributed to my defeat in '76 when I ran for the Senate.

Keynoter (checking the record): It says here '72 and that it was John Goemans.

*Mink:* Oh, in '72. Yes, he was pretty nasty. He was pretty nasty.

Keynoter: You were one of six women to make losing bids for the US Senate in 1976. What happened and did you learn anything from that race?

Mink: Did I learn anything? Well, I don't know. I learned not to lose. (General laughter) It's difficult. My opponent in the primary was Spark Matsunaga who had been in the House for fourteen years. I had been there for twelve and many people said to me afterwards, I shouldn't have run. That I should have realized that people are kind of wedded into the old fashioned notion of you earn your way to promotion. And they regarded my candidacy at that point as an affront to the seniority that had been accumulated by Senator Matsunaga and that was why I lost. I don't know. That could be. But that's the kind of soothing sort of commiseration that people were apt to say to me after the defeat.

Keynoter: President Carter appointed you to a State Department post. What foreign policy initiatives were you involved in?

Mink: Well, I had the oceans, environment and the science area. I had lots of interesting responsibilities. The most confrontational one had to do with the international whaling treaty. There are so many in our country that felt that all whaling should end and that the American policy should not tolerate even one whale to be killed for whatever purpose. And I had to struggle with that general environmental prin-



During Rector's interview, Mink was joined by the manager of her 1972 presidential effort in Oregon, Gretchen Kafoury.

ciple to understand that there were still some Alaskan natives that traditionally survived in the upper reaches of our country on whaling. It may not be a significant number, like two or three, but that we could not sign off on a policy that said no without recognizing that - for subsistence purposes - there were these Americans in our own country that needed it for survival. I'd say that was probably my toughest issue. Because I had to represent the native Americans with whom I have some very close feelings and responsibilities. So I had to stand up to the environmental community, who picketed the State Department and picketed me. (Laughs). Picketed the international conferences that we attended. But I hung to it and the Secretary of State supported me, and the President supported me. So I took the beating, but it was a policy that we were both comfortable within terms of subsistence.

I did some of the early work on Global Warming. The early discussions on that were very interesting. We had some international conferences. I think that's about it. I went to a lot of meetings.

We did the Law of the Sea at that time too. Although Elliot Richardson was the number one person representing the whole country as our Ambassador to the UN on the Law of the Sea, I had to develop the State Department policy on it. I was part of that huge task force that had to do with that. Congress passed the law which allowed the federal government to board and seize foreign vessels that invaded our twelve-mile limit to fish. And I had the responsibility to blow the whistle on when our Coast Guard could board or not board a foreign vessel. And that was a very, very tough situation. The first ship that violated our waters was a Soviet vessel. And in consultation with everybody that I could get together in a task force meeting, we decided to just give a warning for the first vessel. For which I was commanded to appear before the Senate to justify why I had let the Soviets off. (Laughs)

So for two years I had some very interesting experiences. Put me on the other side of the ledger. You know we're here in the Congress and we legislate. We try to tell the administration what to do. So for two years I was on the receiving end of instructions from the legislature, which is a very interesting perspective, change of viewpoint I must say that I think everybody should have at least two years. It kind of gives you a different viewpoint on the whole thing.

Keynoter: You next served as President of Americans for Democratic Action (ADA). The Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) was formed by Clinton and Gore among others to be the moderate counter force to the ADA. In the Clinton era the liberal wing of the Democratic Party has been dormant. Do you foresee a comeback for the liberal wing?

Mink: Oh, we've always been called dormant. I've never known a period in our history where people have acknowledge that we had any strength or authority. So it's a disturbing way to describe what I consider to be the conscience of this country. Liberal never mind, but the thoughts that we espouse and the feeling that we bring to politics are not dormant, they are the conscience of this country. They may be expressed in different ways, but I do think that the common thread to a political ideology in this country is always liberal: what can we do for our children. Nobody says to President





Rep. Mink's congressional career spans over three decades (from 1964 to the present) but includes several interruptions.

Clinton, when he says, "Education is the primary focus of our national responsibility" — oh, that's a liberal idea, but it is! When we talk about the importance of ensuring health to everybody in our society, nobody says "Oh, Mr. President that's a liberal idea." Maybe some people thought that. But it is one of the important principals that we support as members of the so-called liberal wing. The environment is also something which is very close to the people who are in the liberal part of our society. So we do have to have names for people, conservative, liberal, moderates, for the convenience of the press. But in terms of the way I look at it, the ideology that I represent is the conscience of this country. It is what motivates good policies on behalf of all of the elements of our society: local government, state government, national government So I don't consider it dormant. We have arrived at an age where the things that we thought of years and years ago are the dominate themes over which contests are now being lodged between Democrats and Republicans to see who can do better. So don't call us dormant! (Laughs)

Kafoury: Amen.

Keynoter: You were elected to the Honolulu City Council in 1982. Mayor Fasi convinced three Democratic Councilmen to change parties. You forced a recall. Can you tell us about that?

Mink: It was probably the most astounding experience of my life and probably the most historic political event in this century in my state. The fact that the voters in these districts followed the notion that if someone runs from a political party and is elected from that political party that at least for that term of office they should not be allowed to switch parties. The switching of parties on the council meant that by vacating their Democratic allegiance they could switch over become Republicans and elect a new Republican Chair. And the public felt that was a violation of their oath of office, a violation of their pledge to their constituents when they ran. And so the recall succeeded in removing from office these three people that had switched parties. It's not that people felt that they were loyal to the parties themselves as voters, but they felt that they were cheated in the switch. I think that was a tremendous statement that the voters made about their understanding of the political process. I was really overwhelmed; I had no idea when I started this that it would be successful. Neither did the press. Going in that night to the television stations, with the reporters all around who were at best saying I would be able to recall only one. Were absolutely flabbergasted when we recalled three.

extremely popular members of the city council, never had any serious contests for election. Won by tremendous odds always, had been there for many, many, many, many years were the icons of our local politics and they were removed because they played this little game to remove me as the chairman. I think that will effect us for years to come. I don't think anyone's going to try that again, not as long as I'm alive. I must say that it took six months out of my life. Every night we had to get signatures: not just in one district, in three districts. Every night I had fifty people going out canvassing, getting signatures. Every night out there it was terrible, receiving threats in some cases. It was tough but we were determined. We had hundreds of people helping.

Keynoter: In 1986 you made a bid for Governor can you tell us about that?

Mink: The governor's race? Well, that's another one I lost. I thought it could have been won. Governor Waihee, who won, and I were tied for second place with nineteen percent each going into the last three weeks of the election. He decided to spend a lot of his own money. I didn't have that kind of money to spend. Had I had that resource, I could have probably won. The votes just peeled off of the leader, Cec Heftel. For some inexplicable reason he was carrying about sixty percent of the vote in the polls, up until about two or three weeks before the election. As I said, Waihee had about nineteen and I had about nineteen and it was this tremendous gap that Governor Waihee was able to close in the last two weeks of the election. I have always looked back at that and had an awful lot of remorse that some how I didn't make the move that he did. He spent an incredible amount of money in the last two weeks. And you know, full page ads every night in the papers, massive television, but he did it and he won. And he was governor for eight years.

Keynoter: In 1988 you made a bid for Mayor of Honolulu can you tell us about that?

*Mink:* That one I should have won. There was no reason for losing that except that the party was against me and they put in two other people to run. But the election should have been mine.

*Keynoter:* In 1990 you were elected to your old congressional seat. When you returned were you greeted as a seasoned lawmaker or were you a freshman all over again?

Mink: I was greeted as a "seasoned lawmaker," heralded, standing ovations and everything the day I arrived and then when I went to my first committee, I was a freshman. (Laughter all around)

*Keynoter:* For most of the second phase of your congressional career there has been a Republican Congress. How has being a member of the minority party affected your ability to do the job?

Mink: Terrible. We don't even know what tomorrow's agenda is going to be, let alone have any say in making it or helping to formulate what our priorities are. We live from day to day for the email to tell us what is coming up tomorrow. It's a very terrible feeling, so I hope that if we make it back after the year 2000 elections that we will behave better as a majority party. I've made an oath to myself that if I have any responsibility to chair anything after the 2000 election I'm going to be a majority person that is willing to collaborate with the minority because we've been treated terribly, absolute hell. So this weekend we are all laughing because





we are supposed to be going to a conference to learn how to "treat each other better." (Chuckle)

Keynoter: The Clinton and congressional sex scandals have brought up the stress that public life has on a marriage. You have been married to John Mink for 48 years. What is your secret?

Mink: Oh, I don't know.

Kafoury: He cooks! (Laughter all around)

Mink: He does, he does. He has been very willing to accept the hardships of political life. He has a very thin skin. He does not like criticism. He hates it when I'm criticized or where there is a big controversy, and that's the only part that I must say that he doesn't really enjoy. But other than that he's in there helping to run the campaign. He's been my campaign chairman every year that I've run for office. He's kept the books, kept me legal; filed all the things I need to file with FEC.

Kafoury: He came to Oregon with you many of those weekends.

Mink: So did my daughter. So he has been very supportive and in the process he has had a very successful career of his own as a hydrologist. Without that career being successful and earning the money that he did, I couldn't have stayed in. The money that you earn with your salary in all of these offices is simply not enough to maintain a life in both places. Living here and having a house and all those things, and living over there where we have to have a house and whatever we have that goes with it: an automobile, car insurance and everything else. So the fact that he has been able to keep up with his own career and do well, remarkably well, has given me the freedom to keep going in politics. So I'm very grateful and in the same context that we've been able to stay married all this time. He comes about half the year here. He just left last Wednesday.

*Keynoter:* Political consultants claim that every level of political campaign requires different levels of strategies and tactics. You have run for everything from the city council to the White House. Is every kind of campaign all that different?

Mink: Running for President is very different. It came to me right smack to my head, when we were passing out brochures at a grocery store somewhere in Oregon. "Vote for me for President," I would say to all the people as they were coming out of the supermarket. People were very polite and they took the literature. This huge man grabbed the paper and looked down at me because he was so big and he said "President of what?" (Laughter all around) I shall never forget that as long as I live.

Keynoter (addressing Kafoury): Do you have any stories about the campaign or something that I'm missing about the campaign?

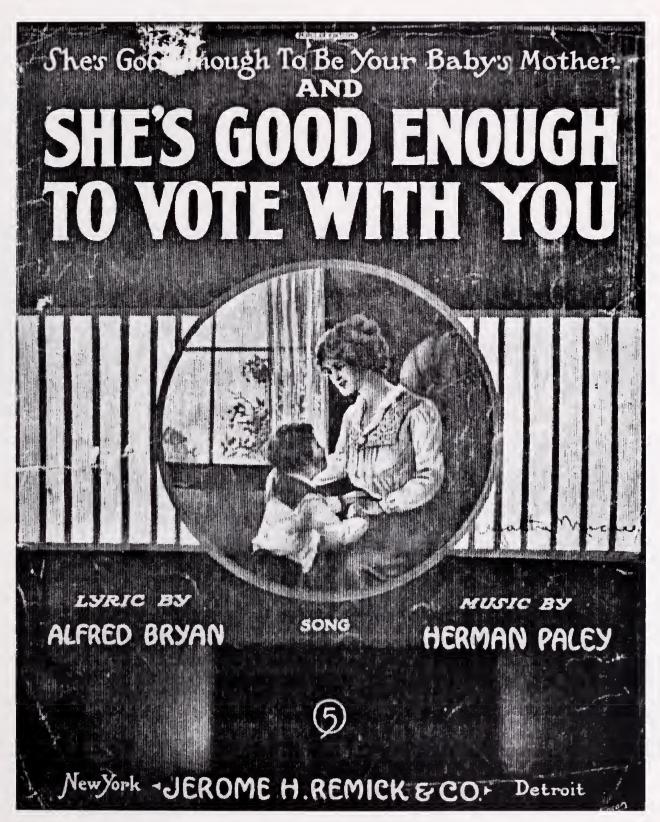
*Kafoury:* Well it was such a whirlwind. I think it was a fascinating campaign and we in Oregon are still appreciative that

Aside from President and U.S. Representative, Patsy Mink has sought many offices from city to national level, including Governor and U.S. Senator. Her occasional defeats never stopped her from coming back.



Patsy was willing to make that investment in time. It was tremendous and it was symbolism. I mean McGovern wasn't bad, but he wasn't as articulate about it. He wasn't as passionate about it. And you have to consider the times. In the context of today or 1988 it wouldn't have made the same statement. But if you go back and understand what life in America was in those early seventies, it was a very different

climate. And the war just consumed everything, consumed all of our energy. Whether we were feminist or whatever. It was a very passionate time and we wanted someone who spoke to those ideals and being a woman was an important part of it too. So were just proud of her. We're her second adopted state. (Laughs) \*



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# Hiram Fong: Hawaii's Favorite Son

#### By Michael Kelly

Patsy Mink was not the first Asian-American to run for the presidential nomination of a major party. She was not even the first presidential hopeful from Hawaii. The person to hold those distinctions is Republican Hiram L. Fong.

Fong was a native of Honolulu and a veteran of World War II. An attorney by profession, he served in the territorial legislature and rose to the post of Speaker as the islands approach statehood. In 1959, Hiram Fong sought to become Hawaii's first U.S. Senator and the first Asian-American to serve in the Senate. He succeeded by defeating Democrat Frank Fasi.

As he approached a tough re-election battle in 1964, Fong's supporters felt that they could use the Republican National Convention to boost his prestige and express their support for their senior senator. Like other favorite sons that year (such as Minnesota's Walter Judd and Arkansas' Winthrop Rockefeller), Fong's candidacy also helped to keep delegates out of the Barry Goldwater column while not being forced to commit themselves to Nelson Rockefeller or Bill Scranton. This was evidently part of the strategy of some Hawaiian delegates as even his tiny eight-vote delegation split right down the middle on the first (and only) ballot. Hawaii gave Fong just four



votes and cast the other four for Goldwater. That embarrassment was softened when a delegate from Alaska also voted for Senator Fong, giving him a total of five.

Two Fong-for-President buttons were available at the convention from commercial vendors. 1964 was, remember, just before the onslaught of buttons targeted at collectors began. The convention buttons were made by established manufacturers who maintained booths at the convention. A 1 1/4" orchid-colored celluloid was manufactured by N. G. Slater. It read "Hiram Fong for President," with a black and white photo of Fong wearing an orchid-colored lei. Emress Specialty produced a RWB 2 1/4" picture button reading "For President Hiram Fong." Long after the convention was over, new versions of both appeared with the collector market in mind. The later Slater version was missing the lei around Fong's neck, which made it an odd looking button given that Fong was pictured with a shirt and tie but no shoulders.

The favorite son nomination certainly did him no harm as he went on to overcome a Johnson landslide in Hawaii (and the nation) to win re-election. But the Fongfor- President drive wasn't over. In 1968, his name was once again presented to the Republican National Convention. This time, he had the full support of the Hawaiian delegation, which had grown to 14, and the floor demonstration generously spread leis around the convention floor.

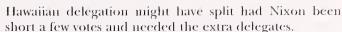
There was a vendor button available at the convention featuring a picture of Senator Fong with small pineapples on either side of his picture.

In more practical terms, Fong's candidacy held a critical handful of votes away from Richard Nixon, who was close to a first ballot victory. The Nixon victory arrived anyway, although he had to reach Wisconsin on the roll call before passing the 667-vote barrier that gave him the nomination. It is likely, however, that Fong's solid









Nonetheless, Fong's vote total of 14 nearly tripled his 1964 count of 5. If he had been able to continue that geometric growth in delegate support, he could have won the nomination by 1984 but it was not to be. Senator Fong won a third term in 1970 and then retired from the Senate in 1976 to return to private life.

I'll close with a personal note. Fong's presidential hopes may not have been intense but many observers had appreciated his good-natured nominations. I recall that in 1968, when I was managing the George Romney campaign at the University of Notre Dame's Republican Mock Convention, the Hawaiian delegation (few, if any, of whom actually came from that state) enthusiastically put Fong's name before the mock convention. The nominating speech was a crowd-pleaser and consisted mainly of putting Senator Fong's name into a series of famous political slogans. A couple of my favorites were "I regret that I have but one Fong to give for my country" and "Fifty-Four/Forty or Fong!"\*







#### **VOTES FOR WOMEN TEA SET**

Despite what Marxists say, reform does not always come from the working classes. In fact, social change in the USA is often driven by the middle or even upper class. Above is an example of such a reform effort by polite society, the "Votes for Women" tea set commissioned by Alva Vandervilt Belmont for use at a 1914 suffragette rally at Marble House, her "summer cottage" in Newport, Rhode Island. Jeeves, drive us to the barricades, if you please.

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# Davy Crockett for President

By Michael Kelly



U. S. Congressman Davy Crockett (Whig - TN)

Long before the myths of coonskin caps and killing "bars" when he was only three, there existed a real frontiersman named Davy Crockett. He was, in fact, known as a humorous storyteller and skilled marksman. He did, indeed, shoot more than his fair share of bears and spent most of his life doing the hard scrabble work of opening the frontier, moving from East Tennessee to Middle Tennessee to West Tennessee as the frontier moved forward.

Davy Crockett was also a Tennessee politician. Elected to the state legislature in 1820, he was one of a minority voting against Tennessee's hero, General Andrew Jackson, when the legislature picked a U.S. Senator.

When Crockett ran for Congress, Andrew Jackson's organization worked against him and he lost by 267 votes. Two years later he came back to beat the incumbent and win the first of three terms in the U.S. House of Representatives. Congressman Crockett became a national sensation, stimulating stories and books about his frontier exploits. Soon Davy Crockett books (such as *The Irrepressible Backwoodsman*) filled with outrageous fables were the rage and Davy Crockett almanacs hung on the wall of almost every home.

When Congressman Crockett battled President Jackson on the abrogation of Creek War Indian treaties (forcing Indians off of lands promised to them "so long as the moon circles the earth"), the frontiersman became the toast of the Whig Party. As historian James Burke wrote, "in the smokefilled back rooms of clubs and political offices there was talk of 'Crockett for President,' to the annoyance of Andrew Jackson in the White House and the man he expected to succeed him, his vice president, Martin Van Buren."

Crockett went on a tour of the East in 1834. In Philadelphia, Boston and New York, he was cheered by crowds and toasted at Whig meetings. In New York, he was feted by the Young Whigs and put on an exhibition of rifle shooting, and in Boston, he declined an honorary degree from Harvard on the grounds that his education didn't warrant being granted a doctorate. In Philadelphia, he joined Daniel Webster in delivering 4th of July orations. Everywhere, he was hailed as that rare creature, "an honest politician."

President Jackson was infuriated at such a challenge coming from his own home state and pulled out all the stops to end Crockett's political career. "Old Hickory," the Hero of New Orleans, knew well enough the political potential of public adulation and a popular reputation for bravery. The entire weight of the presidency focused on defeating Crockett when he came up for re-election. The campaign included dirty tricks, heavy spending and vote fraud. In the end, Crockett was defeated by 252 votes. Turning his back on Tennessee, he said, "You can go to hell, I'm going to Texas."

It was in Texas that Crockett joined the tiny band of patriots defending Texan independence at the Alamo. On his way to Texas, he is said to have delivered a speech in Little Rock, Arkansas, giving political hopefuls some friendly advice about how to succeed at electioneering. The speech, said to be in Crockett's own words, appears on the next page.★



DAVY CROCKETT, FRONTIER HERO Woodcut from DAVY CROCKETT'S ALMANACK: 1838

### How to Win an Election

**By Davy Crockett** 

"Attend all public meetings," says I, "and get some friends to move that you take the chair; if you fail in this attempt, make a push to be appointed secretary; the proceedings of course will be published, and your name is introduced to the public. But should you fail in both undertakings, get two or three acquaintances, over a bottle of whiskey, to pass some resolutions, no matter on what subject; publish them even if you pay the printer-it will answer the purpose of breaking the ice, which is the main point in these matters. Intrigue until you are elected an officer of the militia; this is the second step towards promotion, and can be accomplished with ease, as I know an instance of an election being advertised, and no one attending, the innkeeper at whose house it was to be held, having a military turn, elected himself colonel of his regiment." Says I, "You may not accomplish your ends with as little difficulty, but do not be discouraged-Rome wasn't built in a day.

"When the day of election approaches, visit your constituents far and wide. Treat liberally, and drink freely, in order to rise in their estimation, though you fall in your own. True, you may be called a drunken dog by some of the clean shirt and silk stocking gentry, but the real rough necks will style you a jovial fellow, their votes are certain, and frequently count double. Do all you can to appear to advantage in the eyes of the women. That's easily done—you have but to kiss and slabber their children, wipe their noses, and pat them on the head; this cannot fail to please their mothers. . . .

"Promise all that is asked," said I, "and more if you can think of anything. Offer to build a bridge or a church, to divide a county, create a batch of new offices, make a turnpike, or anything they like. Promises cost nothing. . . .

"Get up on all occasions, and sometimes on no occasion at all, and make long-winded speeches, though com-



posed of nothing else than wind-talk of your devotion to your country, your modesty and disinterestedness, or on any such fanciful subject. Rail against taxes of all kinds, office-holders, and bad harvest weather; and wind up with a flourish about the heroes who fought and bled for our liberties in the times that tried men's souls. To be sure you run the risk of being considered a bladder of wind, or an empty barrel, but never mind that, you will find enough of the same fraternity to keep you in countenance.

"If any charity be going forward, be at the top of it, provided it is to be advertised publicly; if not, it isn't worth your while. None but a fool would place his candle under a bushel on such an occasion.

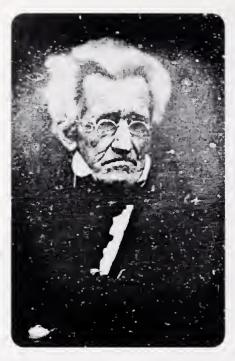
"These few directions," said I, "if properly attended to, will do your business; and when once elected, why a fig for the dirty children, the promises, the bridges, the churches, the taxes, the offices, and the subscriptions, for it is absolutely necessary to forget all these before you can become a thoroughgoing politician, and a patriot of the first water."\*



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### How Hale is the Chief?

#### By Ken Arnold



President Andrew Jackson photographed at the age of 75, five years after leaving the White House and three years before his death.

Several U.S. presidents have been disease-ridden, disabled, even a bit deranged-while still in office-without the public knowing about it. What do we really know about the health of our chief executives-and what should we know?

By the time George Washington became the first president of the United States, his chest was hollowed from tuberculosis, his face scarred from smallpox, his lungs ravaged by pneumonia and his jaw disfigured from tooth decay. Andrew Jackson served as chief executive with one bullet lodged in his chest, another in his shoulder, and a constant pool of blood in his lung.

Grover Cleveland had cancer. Woodrow Wilson became mentally impaired. John F. Kennedy relied on cortisone injections to get him through the day.

For the most part, the public knew nothing of these maladies, thanks to effective and often elaborate efforts to conceal them from the American people.

Throughout history, presidents, their physicians, and sometimes even the press have labored hard to project an image of our chief executive as a hale and hearty leader confidently steering the ship of state. Although in many instances the captain was too sick to report for duty, these efforts are in many ways understandable. As a nation, we tend to equate good health with strength, and view any sign of illness as a "weakness" or cause for concern. A look at history shows, however, that our presidents have been a fairly

sickly lot, with a history of disease, injury and even dementia that is statistically higher than most any other profession.

#### Smallpox, Surgery and Other Secrets

Our earliest presidents lived in an era of rampant disease, widespread bacterial infections and nonexistent antiseptic procedures. Most contracted the common diseases of the time such as smallpox, tuberculosis, malaria and dysentery, and many suffered from poor medical treatment.

Thomas Jefferson had tremendous headaches that often lasted weeks at a time, and James Monroe carried a bullet in his left shoulder from the 1776 Battle of Trenton. Andrew Jackson, a cantankerous spirit with an iron constitution, had smallpox, dysentery and malaria. At age 38, he took a bullet to the chest in a duel. The bullet, which lodged so close to his heart that doctors feared trying to remove it, caused an abscess of the lung that never healed. The presence of the bullet tormented Jackson for the rest of his life, continually causing him to suffer from chest pains, fever, internal hemorrages and horrific spells in



The opponents of President Thomas Jefferson accused him of insanity. This cartoon is titled "Mad Tom in a Rage" and shows him trying to destroy the government established by his predecessors, George Washington and John Adams. The Keynoter

which he coughed up blood and pus from the chronically infected wound. In 1813, he took another bullet to his left shoulder and almost bled to death. He somehow survived the terrible infection that followed, and went on to serve two terms as president despite constant pain, advancing lead poisoning, increasing swelling of the legs and feet and breathing that was so labored it alarmed people.

Grover Cleveland, wishing to avoid a public panic during the worldwide financial crisis of 1893, staged a secret surgery-aboard a yacht cruising up the East River-to remove cancerous tissue from his upper left jaw. Surgeons excised the tissue through the president's month to avoid an exterior scar, fitted Cleveland with a rubber artificial jaw to give his face a normal appearance, and declared the operation a complete success. The story remained under wraps until nine years after Cleveland's death, when one of the surgeons published an account of the adventure. Once the secret was out, another attending physician said, "I did more lying during this period than in all the rest of my life put together."

Lying was the order of the day for physicians attending to Warren Harding, who suffered a serious heart attack in 1923. The White House, which had always portrayed the president as the picture of health, hid it from the public by referring to Harding's condition variously as "hypertension," "gallbladder disease," "pneumonia" and even "crabmeat-copper-ptomaine poisoning." Within a few months, as a bewildered public tried to make sense of it all, Harding suffered another, this time fatal, attack.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, struck with polio in 1921, worked for seven years to overcome the worst effects of the disease, and after returning to public life portrayed himself as a fully recovered polio victim. With the help of heavy, painful leg braces, he appeared to "walk" by alternately lifting each hip and swinging a paralyzed limb forward. Whenever he spoke, he made sure beforehand that the

lecterns were firmly bolted to the floor so that he could lean on them for support. His physicians avoided speaking with the press, which seemed willing enough to hide his true condition from the public. By the end of his third term, however, FDR's declining health became difficult to ignore. He developed iron deficiency anemia and a serious heart ailment, and in his final years had several small strokes. He died from a massive cerebral hemorrhage 12 weeks into his fourth term.

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#### This Just In: The President Has Indigestion

More recent presidents whose health problems were hidden from the public include Dwight Eisenhower, who suffered a mild heart attack in office that was reported by the White House as food poisoning, and another massive coronary that was first labeled indigestion. John F. Kennedy, who projected a public image of "vim, vigor and vitality," in fact had Addison's disease, an incurable but treatable disease of the adrenal gland. Although Kennedy took regular cortisone injections as treatment—which often gave his face a puffy appearance—his doctors denied the condition during the 1960 campaign, and Kennedy himself told reporters after the election, "I have never had Addison's disease."

Not all presidential illnesses have been physical. Abraham Lincoln, for example, was prone to melancholy, and would often go into deep depressions. Although Lincoln clearly suffered from the stress of the Civil War and felt strong personal guilt over the massive casualties, some modern physicians have speculated that brain damage was responsible for his depression. When Lincoln was 10, a horse kicked him in the head, resulting in an undiagnosed skull fracture.

An even clearer case is that of Woodrow Wilson, former president of Princeton University and a constitutional scholar. After leading his country through World War I, Wilson sought to form an international body–the League of Nations–to promote worldwide peace. Ironically, he suffered a stroke while campaigning for approval of the League, which left him so mentally impaired he could not

concentrate for more than 10 minutes at a time. He became increasingly impatient, paranoid and unable to compro-

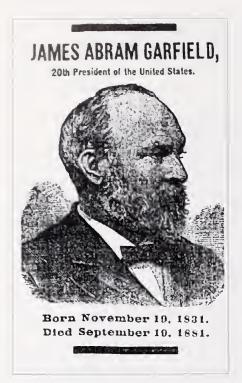


Few campaign items exist from the early presidents, as there was little in the way of campaigns to produce such items. These mugs are examples of the few rare items available. They feature Thomas Jefferson (left), James Monroe (center, with inaccurate spelling from the English manufacturer) and George Washington (right).



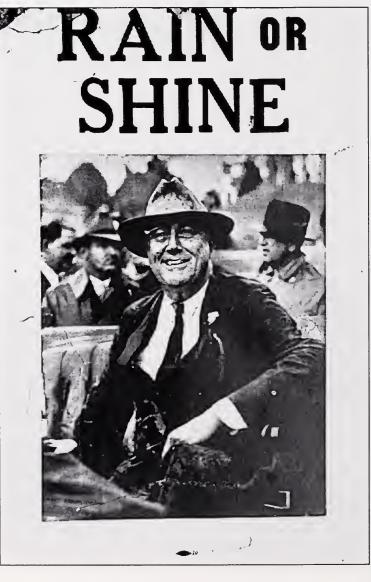


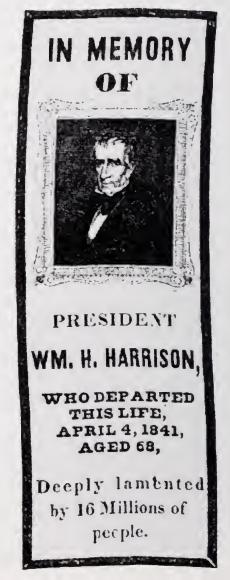
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The serious disabilities of President Woodrow Wilson (upper right) were hidden from the country during the last months of his administration. FDR's disabilities were never discussed in the general media and he would sometimes give public demonstrations of his strength, such as when he rode through New York City in an open car despite pouring rain during the 1944 campaign (see poster lower left).





mise and ultimately broke down from the strain of negotiations. He was virtually incapacitated during his last 18 months in office—a fact that was completely hidden from the public.

#### The President's Privacy vs. the Public's Right To Know

While the spin the White House doctors often put on the health of the president has a certain logic (after all, we're talking about the leader of the free world here), it also raises some important questions: How much should the American people know about the health of their president? Does the public's right to know override the president's right to privacy? What about doctor-patient confidentiality, or the need to conceal information that could cause a public panic?

These questions have been debated for many years, and in recent times have come to include not just sitting presidents, but candidates as well. In the 1972 presidential campaign, for example, public pressure forced George McGovern to drop his running mate Thomas Eagleton after the press reported that Eagleton had been hospitalized for depression. During last year's campaign, 72-year-old candidate Bob Dole sought to allay concerns about his health and age by releasing his complete medical records to the press. Of course, Dole's move was also designed to remind voters of Bill Clinton's reluctance to do the same.

Yet media attention about every presidential cough, mole or cyst may be more than the public wants to know. According to an unscientific poll taken by the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, three out of four Americans believe the president should have control over the release of his health information. The College presented an exhi-

bition called "When The President Is The Patient," which drew upon photographs, diaries, old medical equipment and even pieces of presidents' bodies to explore the health and medical care of our top executives. Visitors to the exhibition also overwhelming voted that the president should be able to choose his or her physician, and retain control over the release of information about his or her annual check-up.

Future generations, of course, may feel differently, and we may never fully resolve such issues. What is certain is that based on statistical projection we can expect two in ten of our future presidents to have heart attacks, one to suffer a debilitating accident, one to develop serious emotional or psychological problems, and several to require surgery. Statistically speaking, one in ten being assassinated.

It would serve us well to keep these sobering thoughts in mind, and honor our presidents—and their right to privacy—more than ever. We may wish they were heroic, largerthan-life figures, but the truth is they are all too mortal.

#### Could These Presidents Have Been Saved?

Just because you're the commander in chief doesn't mean that you'll get the best medical care, history reveals. Ignorance, unsterile techniques and questionable medical practices sometimes did more harm than good.

William Henry Harrison, for example, was elected president at age 68 at his inauguration. He insisted on being sworn in on an extremely cold day without overcoat, gloves or hat, then gave the longest inauguration speech in history–1 hour and 40 minutes. He developed a severe cold, and was blistered by his physicians with stinging ointments and purged with a variety of potions and poisons that irritated







1972 provided one of the most unusual twists of running for Vice President. At the tumultuous convention, McGovern's choice of Thomas Eagleton ran into numerous other nominations for the second spot. The convention did eventually nominate Eagleton but McGovern – after pledging that he was behind Eagleton "1,000%" – dropped him and then went through an embarrassing search for a replacement. After being turned down by several people, McGovern eventually introduced Sargent Shriver as his new running mate. It didn't help much in November.



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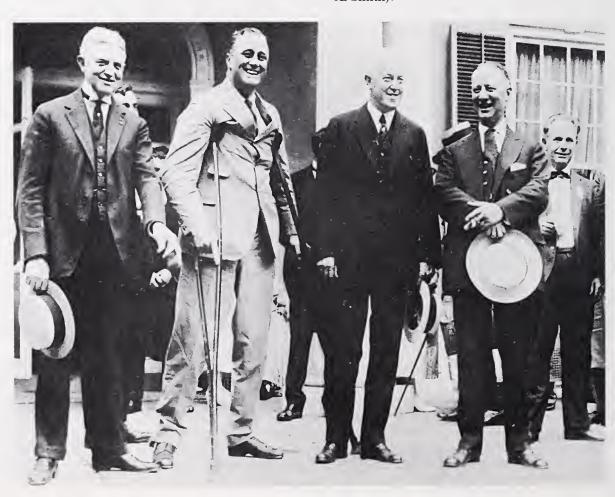


his liver, stomach and intestines. He died exactly one month after his inauguration.

After James Garfield was shot in the back, doctors tried to find the bullet with their unsterilized fingers and metal probes. Their attempts only pushed the probes in a different path than the bullet had taken, creating a new wound that became infected. Garfield hung on for several months. and was subjected to more probes and even an electromagnetic device administered by its inventor, Alexander Graham Bell, to locate the bullet. When Garfield finally died, an autopsy showed that the bullet was lodged 10 inches from where doctors thought it was.

William McKinley, who was shot at point blank range at the 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, N.Y., was initially treated by a Buffalo gynecologist. After probing unsuccessfully to find the bullet, the doctor sewed McKinley up, but neglected to drain the wound. Although public opinion at the time strongly favored use of an X-Ray-which had been discovered six years earlier—to find the bullet, the team of physicians treating the president rejected the idea. McKinley survived only nine days.\*

Left: John F. Kennedy started using a rocking chair to help his bad back. It started a national craze. Below: An unusual photo of FDR on crutches. He is seen here in 1924 with other Democratic leaders (to the right of FDR is 1924 nominee John W. Davis and next to Davis is 1928 nominee Al Smith).



## "Miss Caroline"

A spoof on President Kennedy, using his daughter Caroline as the central character, "Miss Caroline" was created for a set of cocktail napkins in 1962 by Gerald Gardner, author of *Who's in Charge Here*?, and illustrated by Frank Johnson. The set contains 12 different cartoons.★



"Daddy says you used to live here. Couldn't you keep up the payments?"



"I found it in the sofa."



"Okay, now I'll be big business and you be my Daddy."



"Say 'Nixon'."



"- And help Daddy balance the budget."



"We should at least send them razor blades."

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# Report From The County Chair

By Jerry L. Bixby

My most exciting year in politics was 1996. During that year 1 became chair of the Oakland County Democratic Party (OCDP). Oakland County is the most affluent in Michigan, and the 8th most expensive nationally, according to a recent study. It is overwhelmingly Republican. This article will outline how 1 became chair and what official Clinton-Gore items came out of the county as well as some of the other items used in the area.

In 1994 the Republicans took over both houses of Congress. Our then county chair, Don Tucker, decided not to run for another term. Mick Meltzer, an experienced activist and an early supporter of Bill Clinton, announced his intention to run for the position as a "reformer." He was opposed by some elements of the party, in part, because his theme suggested that the party needed reform. The county chair is elected by the Executive Committee, of which I had long been a member. I decided not to remain on the Committee and to make way for new blood. Mick put together a coalition of supporters, but specifically excluded some elements of organized labor, in particular the UAW. Mick and his slate were elected at a rancorous meeting which I walked out of in disgust. In March of 1995 six officers-at-large were elected all from Mick Meltzer's slate. Included on this slate was my friend, APIC member Dennis Ritter, whom I introduced to Mick after he became chair. Thus Mick had elected his people to every position on the

Executive Board. Shortly after this, one of the Executive Committee members for my city moved, creating a vacancy. Mick asked me to run, which I agreed to do. I returned to the Executive Committee.

By the middle of 1995, Mick Meltzer resigned and moved out of state. The first vice chair replaced him and the other vice chairs moved up creating a vacancy for fourth vice chair. Having friends and allies with the "reformers," the UAW and elsewhere, I decided to run, but had not yet announced my intentions, when I was asked by a prominent labor representative to do so. I was about to begin making phone calls seeking votes, when I wound up in the hospital with kidney failure. On the night of the vote, I was having dialysis and could not speak in my own behalf. There were three candidates, I was elected unanimously! You see, the loudest speaker doesn't necessarily win.

An appeal to the Michigan Democratic Party had been filed seeking to void the earlier election of the six officers-at-large on the grounds that sufficient notice was not given, as required under our by-laws. The appeal was successful. A new election was scheduled for March 12, 1996. If I could elect my slate, I would control a majority of the Executive Board. The mood at the February meeting was bitter, the chair abruptly adjourning when the discussions were not going her way. I was not present, but understand there was no vote to adjourn.



A group of buttons issued by the Oakland Party Democratic Party from left to right, starting with the top row: the first Levin (#1) refers to U.S. Senator Carl Levin, Levin 2 (#2) refers to his brother, Congressman Sander Levin, Morris Frumin (#3) was an unsuccessful congressional hopeful while the next button (#4) is a misspelling of Frumin. Another misspelling is found on the lower row. The first (#5) refers to Congresswoman Debbie Stabenow but the next (#6) is misspelled. The last coattail button boosts Flint Congressman Dale Kildee (#7), while the final button indicates that the Michigan Democratic Party strongly relies on the strength of the United Auto Workers.

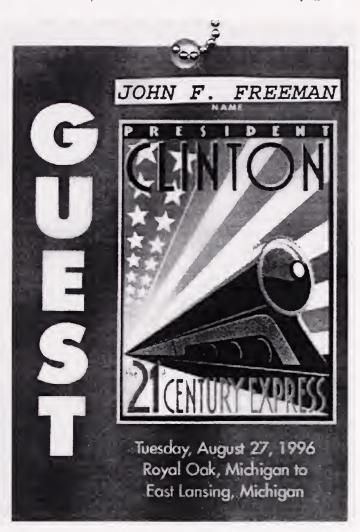
During the meeting the chair indicated that she had laryngitis, thus the meeting was chaired by the first vice chair. The meeting was conducted up to the point when the election was about to be held when the first vice chair declared the meeting "recessed" without taking a vote. I was ready. I stood up and after asking the second and third vice chairs to reconvene the meeting, took over. I appointed a temporary secretary and conducted the election. The chair and two other vice chairs remained present in silence during the balance of the meeting. My slate was elected by overwhelming majorities.

With in one week, the chair, the first through third vice chairs and the secretary of the executive board resigned effective on March 31, 1996. This made me chair. At the same time, the now former chair filed an appeal against the special election of the six officers-at-large on the grounds that the proper procedures had not been followed in three ways. This appeal served to validate the election that I had conducted, since if I prevailed on the issues, the election would be valid. My arguments on the most important issue of proportional voting was based on a DNC position paper I had obtained. The other two matters, I argued, were irrelevant, since they did not effect the outcome of the election. The appeals committee agreed with my position. Thus the act of appealing the election validated my actions.

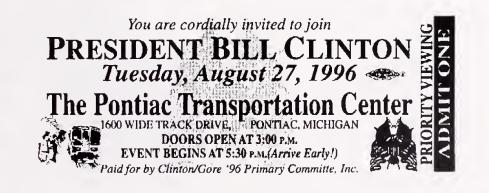
My first act as Chair was to call a special election to fill all the vacancies including the Chairmanship. This would solidify my hold on the office. My slate were unopposed. This left me at the head of a county party in disarray. We fielded a nearly full slate of candidates, and picked up one additional member of Congress, Debbie Stabenow. President Clinton was the first Democrat to carry Oakland County since Lyndon Johnson. Our candidates for prosecutor and for sheriff did better than any in years, although neither were elected. Our position on a ballot proposal prevailed. Our endorsed County Circuit Court candidates won. I decided not to run for re-election in order to spend more time with my family, to regain my health and to go out as a winner. My greatest accomplishment was to keep the party from falling further apart.

I confess that campaign buttons were not a priority for me during the 1996 campaign. In previous years I had vended buttons for both Democrats and Republicans and reinvested the proceeds in my collection. I had neither the time nor the ability to do this in 1996. In that sense only, the Chairmanship cost me. On the other hand, I met many good people whom I would not have otherwise known. I was very pleased to get to know a few reporters. After the election, I contacted the Oakland County Republican Party and they provided me some Dole/Kemp items.

Let's go into the official Oakland County Democratic Party buttons and the official PAC buttons issued by Clinton/Gore-Oakland. There has been some inaccurate information written which confuses these two groups. There were five coattail buttons issued by the County Party and made by Mitch Kuhn [see illustrations on page 22].





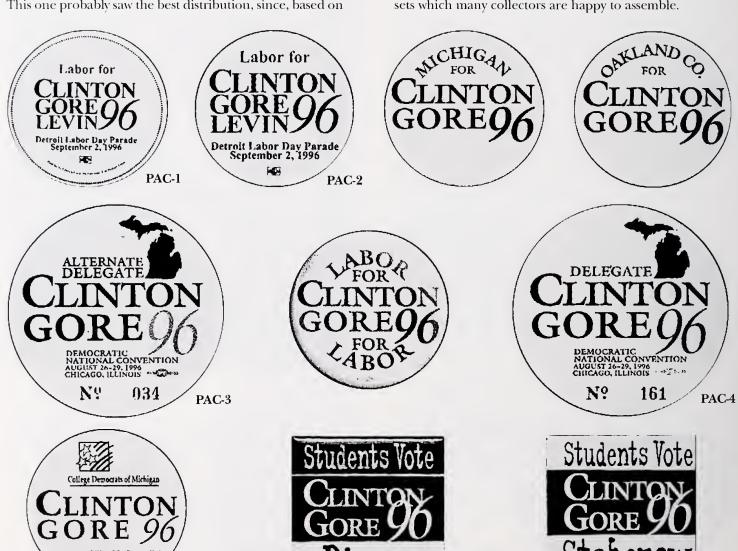


Each has "Paid for by the Oakland County Democratic Party" on the curl. Button #1 is the Clinton Gore Levin '96. There were 100 made. Button #2 is the Clinton Gore Levin<sup>2</sup> '96, AKA "Levin squared." There were 250 made for the County Party. The "2" refers to Carl for Senate and his brother Sandy for Congress. In addition to the 250 Levin squared buttons made for the county party, 200 more were made for the Sander Levin campaign. Thus, this one is the most common of the county buttons with 450 having been issued. #3 is the Clinton Gore Frumin '96. There were 250 issued by the party, 75 of which were given directly to the Frumin Campaign. #4 is the Clinton Gore Trumin '96 button. Mitch is not the best speller, I spelled Frumin to him over the phone. There were 100 made before I stopped Mitch. Most were destroyed. #5 is the Clinton Gore Stabenow '96. There were 250 issued. #6 is the Clinton Gore Stabenow '96. Mitch assured me that he knew how to spell her name. And since I had introduced Mitch to Debbie Stabenow two years before, I believed him. There were only 100 made before I stopped Mitch again. #7 is the Clinton Gore Kildee '96 button. There were 250 issued. This one probably saw the best distribution, since, based on

CD-1

both population and geography, Congressman Kildee's district is nearly half in Oakland County. The Rochester Democratic Club was most helpful in getting them out. For political reasons, the County Party attempted to produce the same number of each Congressional coattail. There was one additional button, which is actually quite rare. #8 is a UAW Clinton Gore '96. It has the same disclaimer as the other's. Also for political reasons, I did not want this button to be distributed with the party disclaimer, thus only a few were made. I would guess that no more than 18 or 20 exist.

I did not want the OCDP to be too involved in distributing campaign buttons. All of the above buttons were distributed, free of charge at meetings, rallies and events. Nor did I intend any of them to be easily promoted as "rare" items. They have been referred to as a set. I hadn't thought of them this way. Frankly, a complete set would be rare, if it included the UAW button. Even without the later item, there cannot be too many "complete sets" in the hobby. Compare this with the beautiful Ohio AFSCME set, which appears to be fairly available. I think our hobby is big enough for both kinds of "sets." Not to mention the vendor sets which many collectors are happy to assemble.



The top two rows feature buttons produced by the Oakland County Democratic PAC. Those on the bottom row were produced by area College Democrats.

CD-2

As chair of the Oakland County Democratic Party, I received early notice when President Clinton was scheduled to visit the county in August of 1996. I was asked to find a local celebrity to serve as a master of ceremonies and to help pick a possible nearby place for the president to visit, which would highlight one of the campaign themes. There were two stops in Oakland County: Royal Oak and Pontiac. The Royal Oak stop was first and was principally handled by the 12th Congressional District. I helped mainly with the Pontiac visit.

I suggested Vinnie "The Microwave" Johnson to one of the advance people who asked, "who's he?" I explained that he was a former Detroit Piston, who now ran a business in an empowerment zone in Detroit. Eventually they decided that he was the right choice. Other sports figures, like George Kell, the TV announcer for the Detroit Tigers, were unable to get clearance from their teams. Too bad. Mr. Kell was off that day, but was scheduled to be at home in Little Rock! Besides I had a piece of literature from one of Clinton's campaigns for governor and would have liked to have Kell and the President autograph it. Kell's name appeared on it as treasurer.

I was particularly happy with the event. Vinnie Johnson did an excellent job as MC for the pre-presidential show and introduced me. I, in turn introduced the local politicians. I managed to bring my wife and kids along as well. My 16 year old wanted to know when all those local politicians would shut up so that the President could speak. Fellow APIC member, Dennis Ritter was one of the featured local speakers. I managed to resist telling my Bob

Dole jokes.

As is often the case, plans get changed, sometimes more than once. Each day of the train tour had a theme. The nearby locations I had suggested did not fit the education theme of the day.

Pictured is an ID used for the train passengers. A beautiful poster was issued using the same graphics. Also shown



Left to right: U.S. Senator Carl Levin, Congressman Dale Kildee, Pontiac Mayor Walter Moore, unknown man, civil rights activist Rosa Parks, unknown woman, President Clinton and unknown man. Photos are by Paul Deschaine.



This shows how the stage looked before the train arrived. What a backdrop the train made! Here we see APIC member Dennis Ritter fire up the crowd while fellow-APICer Jerry Bixby looks on approvingly.

is one of the tickets used to get in. There was a general admission without a ticket and two different colors of the ticket shown, red and yellow. I think the red one was closer to the tracks. I've seen tickets for other stops on the tour. They are all different.

The Oakland County Democratic Party issued an event button for Pontiac: "I saw President Clinton in Pontiac on Aug 27, 1996." I50 were made and offered for a \$5.00 donation to the party. Most were gone the day before the event at the organizational meeting. The rest were sold on 8/27/96. The picture is in full color with a blue border and white letters. Some of the local politicians picked up several to give to their friends and campaign workers.

The Clinton Gore Oakland PAC, first known as Clinton Gore '96 Oakland, was set up prior to my becoming chair of the County party. It was set up to raise money for federal campaigns, but the OCDP "reformers" prohibited any sales of buttons by the County party. I did not belong to or have any direct role in the PAC except as an advisor. Of course by the time things really got rolling I was OCDP chair. At an Executive Committee meeting of the OCDP, it was moved to have the OCDP make buttons to be given out for free. My intention was that the free ones would be smaller than the one's sold by the PAC. The PAC buttons carry the Clinton Gore Oakland or Clinton Gore '96 Oakland disclaimer on the curl. Some of these, I am told, were made in numbers from 250 to 750, based, I imagine, on demand. The goal of the PAC was to raise money, some of which was through using buttons as fundraisers. Some of the buttons they used were vendor items obtained from Bold Concepts, N. G. Slater, Tigereye and others. Illustrated are the one's carrying the disclaimer made especially for them. [See illustrations on page 24]

PAC#1 & 2 were issued by the Clinton/Gore-Oakland

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PAC. Version 1 was printed too small and rejected by the committee. Version 2 has on the curl "Paid for by Clinton Gore 96 Oakland..." As an event button, there were 250 of version 2 made. Other examples are shown.

PAC#3 & 4 were also issued by Clinton/Gore-Oakland. There were 175 of the numbered delegate buttons made and 50 of the numbered alternate buttons. The buttons were offered first to the delegates (156) and alternates (12?). The committee sold out in Chicago. All of these state "Paid for by Clinton/Gore-Oakland, S. Rossbach, Treas." The basic design was mine. The idea of numbering them was Don Tucker's, a former county chair. Shown here are the numbered versions only. Except for the numbers, the unnumbered versions are identical.

The College Democrats of Michigan and the Michigan Education Association both contacted me for advice concerning buttons. They had buttons made by three different makers. These are also illustrated. I can only speculate as to whether all of these buttons would have existed if I hadn't been OCDP chair. Both the College Dems Co-Chair and the MEA local president are folks I've known for years. I know of no other collectors who have the 1996 MEA Clinton button.

250 of CD#1 were issued early by the College Democrats of Michigan. All were distributed to members before the school year even started. The button is RWB. CD#2 "Students Vote Clinton Gore 96 Rivers." This button and

CD#3 were issued by the College Democrats of Michigan fairly late in the campaign. Congresswoman Lynn Rivers was reelected. The button is dark blue and yellow, the colors of the University of Michigan. CD#3 "Students Vote Clinton/Gore 96 Stabenow." RWB. Debbie Stabenow defeated Dick Chrysler. There is no disclaimer on either CD#2 or 3.

MEA#1 "Dole hates ME!" was issued by MEA/NEA Local 1. MEA#2 was made by Tigereye. I did talk to Tony Baltes about 1996 Clinton/Gore labor buttons. Many items were mass produced, but a few were made in very small numbers (of between 100 and 200). This was one of those. I was unable to get even one extra of MEA #2. Mr. Baltes is to be commended for not making overruns of these items. In 1988, his former company made two different Dukakis/Bentsen buttons for the OCDP, both of which carried our disclaimer. Neither MEA#1 or 2 have any disclaimer.

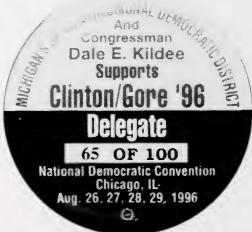
The Dennis Ritter for Supervisor Committee (Waterford Township issued the rectangular Clinton-Kildee-Ritter multi-colored trigate. There were 100 issued as a fundraiser, fewer than 30 of which have made it into the hobby. It was made by Lesco. Waterford is in the geographic center of Oakland County. The 3" trigate issued by the same committee in 1992 is much more attractive with about 50 making it into the hands of collectors.













The first two buttons were produced by a teacher's union in Michigan. The third button is a trigate supporting Dennis Ritter's campaign for township supervisor. It features President Clinton and Congressman Dale Kildee. Only a button enthusiast would produce an item linking a president and a township supervisor. The "Newt and Susy" button is a Republican fundraising item linking congressional hopeful Susy Heintz with Speaker Newt Gingrich. Heintz was the GOP state chair and challenged House Minority Whip David Bonior. Bonior won. The two buttons on the lower right were produced by the state Clinton/Gore campaign.









As a county party chair, I received intelligence concerning events held by the other party. One day I got a call about a fund raiser for Suzy Heintz who was running against House Minority Whip, Congressman David Bonier. That very day I got a button which said: "America Needs Newt and Suzy, Suzy Heintz for Congress." As soon as I had it, I called the chair of the Macomb County Party, Leo Lalond. Leo picked it up and hand delivered it to Congressman Bonier. It was not long before it appeared prominently in two TV spots. I sat behind the Congressman at an event where the President spoke in Detroit just before the election. He was very pleased by the button. I drove home right after the speech, parked my car in the driveway and walked to the local park, where Bob Dole was about to speak. I had a good time and picked up a few Dole Kemp signs after the rally. During the rally I was the only one carrying a Clinton Gore sign. I did not see any official buttons, although Ken Hosner and others were vending outside.

Oakland County encompasses parts of the 8th, 9th, 11th and 12th Congressional Districts. Other than the 9th District, none of the others produced any presidential items.

To my knowledge there were no official buttons issued by the Michigan Democratic Party (MDP). As county chair, I was in frequent contact. The only buttons used were the Adspecs produced national items. I did notice one trade list with a MDP logo on it, but suspect it to be a vendor item.

The 9th Congressional District, for which Dale Kildee is the Congressman, issued two very nice items. Both buttons are numbered one to I00. Both are red, white, blue and black and were made by F J Grafik in Flint, which is a UAW print shop. As Oakland County Democratic Party Chair, I received number I5 of the 3 I/2" delegate button. The second item was a 3" Inaugural button. Both were the brain child of the district chair. I was privileged to get to know Congressman Dale Kildee, who to this day calls me "Mr. Chairman."

My Congressional District is the 12th. Sander Levin, brother of Senator Carl Levin, is my Congressman. In I988 Congressman Levin's former district issued a Dukakis Levin button. In 1996 Sandy liked the Oakland County Clinton Gore Levin squared button so much he made it his own.

In Wayne County, to the south of Oakland, which includes Detroit, there were two very similar looking coat tail buttons. Both are 7/8" and rather plain. The first one is the "Conyers Clinton/Gore Levin" button, blue on off white. John Conyers represents the 14th Congressional District. Carl Levin is our US Senator. I picked up one at the Spring state Democratic Convention. The second one has a different union seal and reads "Conyers Clinton/Gore Kilpatrick Levin." If features blue letters on

white with red stars. Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick was elected to represent the 15th Congressional District in 1996. She defeated the Democratic incumbent in the primary. Both districts are fully in Wayne County. Neither button has any disclaimer. It does not appear that very many of either of these coattails have come into the hobby. I did get the opportunity to spend some time with Congressman Conyers, who was interested in helping with voter turnout in Oakland County.

The Clinton/Gore Dingell square button was not issued by the John Dingell campaign. I checked with both his campaign staff and his congressional staff. On the two lists I have seen it on, it has been priced at an appropriate price for a vendor item. My guess would be that not too many were made.

Mid Michigan Young Dems was jobbed by Lesco and made by Adspecs. I picked mine up, in trade, at the Labor Day parade in Detroit. When I contacted Lesco afterward, they told me that they had no more left, but offered to have more made. I told them thanks, but no thanks.

Lesco made two other non-official buttons, nevertheless worth mentioning. One is the oval "Hard Hats for Clinton", the other is the rectangular, blue on white Michigan item. I have the first one with my labor items the second with my Michigan items.

I urge all of you to become active in the party of your choice.★





A variety of buttons were sold by the Michigan Clinton/Gore campaign. 1996 saw the continuing decline of buttons made by campaigns to give away to the public. More and more, vendor buttons dominate the political scene with most major events featuring vendors selling buttons produced for the commercial market.

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### The FDR Barnesville Button

By Christopher Olmstead



George Roberts was 16 years old on August 11, 1938 when his father, a long-time Franklin D. Roosevelt supporter and admirer, loaded George and his five brothers and sisters into the family Chevrolet to go see President Roosevelt dedicate a Rural Electrification Administration (REA) project in Barnesville, Georgia. It was a sweltering summer day. The depression was at its depths. Nonetheless, 35,000-40,000 people showed up to demonstrate their support, not only for FDR himself, but also for his policies which were designed to bring the country out of its nine-year-long funk.

The ceremony took place at Gordon Memorial Stadium which was itself the result of the work of more than 100 WPA laborers who toiled for more than two years to transform a swamp into a beautiful outdoor stadium. Surrounding the stadium were many other projects completed as the result of FDR's programs, including a nine hole golf course constructed earlier as a WPA project.

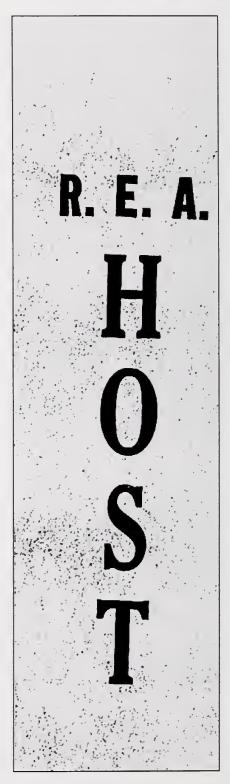
George Roberts placed himself directly in front of the platform filled with dignitaries, including United States Senator Richard B. Russell and Governor E. D. Rivers. Now 76 years of age. George Roberts remembers that, after giving his speech, FDR forgot to push the button to turn on the REA project, and it was left to Senator Russell to do so.

To this day, Franklin Roosevelt's visit to Barnesville, Georgia remains one of the most important events in the history of central Georgia. FDR was a beloved figure in Georgia, due at least in part to his maintaining the Little White House in Warm Springs as his private retreat. The Barnesville News-Gazette printed a special REA edition with the headline "Let There Be Light". Tributes to FDR were printed in the newspaper, including editorials entitled "Welcome, Friend!!" and "Hi, Neighbor!!!". In addition, a poem written by a local resident was published which included the following verses:

Behold the eleventh of August! A history making date When the nation's greatest hero Comes to grand old Georgia State.

So here's to you, our President, Our neighbor and our friend: You firmly plant on higher ground The lives of working men.

In today's high-tech environment, it is hard to imagine what life in the rural United States was like in the early 1930s. All of a sudden, affordable electricity through the REA and various Electric Membership Corporations



Heavy paper ribbon from FDR's 1938 visit to Barnesville, Georgia. It features red letters on green paper.

became available to the public. In a congratulatory letter to the local Electric Membership Corporation in Barnesville, the Administrator of the REA listed the following benefits of receiving electricity: "to make life more comfortable, to eliminate drudgery, to reduce expenses, to add to your income and to make farm life more attractive to boys and girls than city life."

To collectors of political memorabilia, the issuance of

a button commemorating Roosevelt's visit to Barnesville on November 11, 1938 is an exciting by-product of the REA project which meant so much to residents of Barnesville and surrounding communities. George Roberts has had his FDR pin for more than sixty years and it will always be a reminder to him of the day his daddy gave him the opportunity to see Franklin Delano Roosevelt.\*



Photo from ceremonies marking President Roosevelt's appearance at the dedication of an REA project in Barnesville. Senator Richard Russell would become a presidential hopeful at the Democratic conventions of 1948 and 1952.

# Roosevelt-Garner Club Update



In the Fall 1997 issue of The Keynoter, Harvey Goldberg reviewed all of the then-known copies of pins from 1936's Roosevelt-Garner club pins. Examples of one or more club pins were known from 36 of the then-48 states. The only states missing were mainly from the South (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina and Tennessee) plus a few Western states (Nebraska, Nevada and New Mexico). For full details, see the article in that issue.

There were four varieties of the club pins; three were enameled brass and one was a celluloid button. One of the four varieties simply had the date 1936 but most listed a state name. The three versions naming states were distinguished in a chart accompanying the article as brass (B), oval (O) and celluloid (C). As hoped, publication of the article stimulated APIC members to check their collection and a previously unknown pin emerged from the collection of APIC member Owen Henson.

Pictured above is a celluloid button for the Roosevelt-Garner Club of New Mexico made by Bastian Brothers of Rochester, New York. It is the first known example of a Roosevelt-Garner Club pin from New Mexico. Get out your FDR collection and a copy of the Fall 1997 issue. Turn to pages 34 and 35 and see if you can add a new discovery to the list.\*

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# "I Goes Ulysses Straight"

A political poem by Farmer Reynolds as it appeared in the 1872 *Grand Rapids Eagle*.

(submitted by John Bowen)



come behavior munta con or

I ain't got heaps of larnin' And I seldom argy well, But I sorter form opinions Which I ain't afraid to tell. So I says it squre and open Without fear of small or great, I stand by the loyal party And I goes Ulysses straight.

They talk about "reformin" And they say our party's split. That Greeley's awful honest And Grant hain't any grit - I fears their shaller blowin And I sees their crooked gait. And I turns my back on Horace And I goes Ulysses straight.

I can't see how a feller Can mix with Jeff and Sich. Why I shun these cussed critters As if they had the itch! And I'll never vote their ticket Nor knuckle to their hate. But I'll think of martyred Lincoln While I goes Ulysses Straight.

I can't explain the taxes
But I've seen the niggers free.
And voting 'gin their master
Is right enough for me.
I ain't a cussed bullhead
To swaller rebel bait,
But I keeps the side of freedom
And I goes Ulysses straight.

I reckon Horace Greeley Don't expect to get my vote. But I never was a traitor, A turncoat or a float. A chap that's double-sided Whatever's in his pate. Ain't fit to be a President So I goes Ulysses straight.

I wasn't much on fighting,
But I give the praise where due.
And I backs the dauntless Chieftain
Who led our boys in blue.
I won't eat crow or possum,
Nor have it on my plate.
For I love a loyal diet
So I goes Ulysses straight.

We've tried his pluck at Shiloh, We've proved the reck'nin sound. He'll push a thief or rebel As a fox before a hound! At Donelson and Vicksburg He struck to save the state. He's a stateman and a general So I goes Ulysses straight.

I sorter fear that Greeley
Don't tell us what he knows.
About this "fusion" business
And the way the bargain goes.
They say his beets have cost him
From a dollar up to eight.
There's a costlier beat ahead, Horace!
For we goes Ulysses straight.



"Satan, Do Not Get Thee Behind Me."

Cartoonist Thomas Nast on Horace Greeley's pursuit of the Democratic nomination (to go with that of the Liberal Republican Party). Using the story of Jesus tempted by Satan, Nast turns Greeley's words against him. Satan holds a scroll labeled "Democratic Nomination" with an earlier quote by Greeley that the Democratic Party consists of "lovers of rum, haters of niggers, smokers, chewers, convicts of Sing Sing, fathers of mulattos, voters of the Five Points [a rough Irish neighborhood in New York City], blacklegs, pugilists, keepers of dens of ill-fame, rowdies, criminals, cock-fighters, shoulder-hitters, burglars, etc."

#### ITEMS OF INTERST

### Hughes Notification Meeting Button Claremont Rink - Saturday, Sept. 26, '08

Submitted by Steve Baxley



The following newspaper article, which describes the notification meeting for Charles Evans Hughes' nomination for his second term as Governor of New York, appeared in the New York Times on September 26, 1908. Pictured is a button from that event. The button (shown enlarged) is 1 3/4 inches and features a gold border with RWB draped flag. It is interesting to note that notification meetings also occurred at other locations, the Academy of Music and Prospect Hall. It is possible that buttons exist with these other locations printed on them. Governor Hughes went on to be the 1916 GOP presidential nominee. losing narrowly to President Woodrow Wilson. Hughes eventually became Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

#### TO NOTIFY HUGHES TO-DAY Ceremony to be held in the Union League Club, Brooklyn

Governor Hughes and all the other candidates on the Republican State ticket will be notified of their nomination at the Union League Club in Brooklyn at 4 o'clock this afternoon. After the notification ceremonies, the candidates will be entertained at dinner at the club. In the evening they will address a series of meetings in different parts of Brooklyn.

Gov. Hughes will deliver his speech of acceptance at the night meetings, one of which will be held in the Claremont Avenue Rink, another at the Academy of Music, and the third at Prospect Hall in South Brooklyn. State Chairman Woodruff will preside at the meeting at the Claremont Avenue Rink.

Elihu Root, Chairman of the Republican State Convention announced yesterday the Committee on Notification of Candidates. William Berri of Brooklyn is its Chairman. The Committee is composed of one member from each congressional district in the State and presents an odd mixture of Hughes men and anti-Hughes men, with the latter element in the preponderance.

Tomorrow the Governor will start on his first Western trip in the course of which he will make speeches in Indiana, Ohio, and West Virginia, winding up with a speech in Baltimore, MD. He will return to this city on Oct. 1, when he is scheduled to make two speeches hereone at Camp Taft on East 125th and another at the Lenox Assembly Rooms on Second Street.★

#### CAMPAIGN SLOGANS QUIZ

Every election has its own slogans. Match the President to these winning words.

- 1. Grover Cleveland
- 2. Calvin Coolidge
- 3. Dwight D. Eisenhower
- 4. Warren G. Harding
- 5. William Henry Harrison
- 6. Herbert Hoover
- 7. Lyndon Johnson
- 8. John F. Kennedy
- 9. William McKinlev
- 10. James K. Polk
- 11. Franklin D. Roosevelt
- 12. Theodore Roosevelt
- 13. Richard Nixon
- 14. Harry Truman
- 15. Woodrow Wilson

- a) A full dinner pail.
- b) A great society.
- c) A new deal.
- d) A public office is a public trust.
- e) A time for greatness.
- f) Return to normalcy.
- g) A chicken in every pot
- h) Fifty-four forty or fight.
- i) Give 'em hell, Harry.
- j) He kept us out of war.
- k) I like lke.
- l) Keep cool.
- m) Speak softly and carry a big stick.
- n) Now more than ever.
- o) Tippecanoe and Tyler, too

#### FOR THE NEW COLLECTOR

## Parker 1904: Uncle Sam's White Elephant

By Steve Baxley



One of the most interesting and colorful buttons from Alton B. Parker's hapless run against President Theodore Roosevelt is the "White Elephant" button. Despite being only 11/2 inches in size, it contains over thirty words and several themes. Playing on the popularity of college foot-

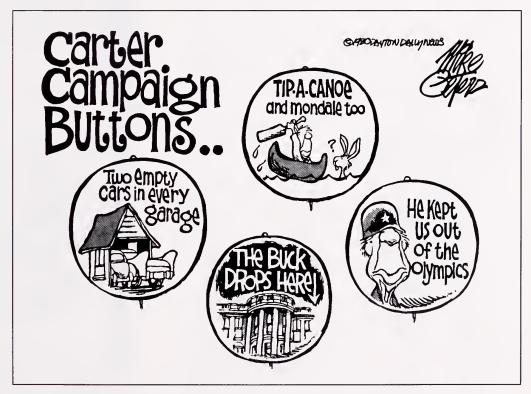
ball during that era, it uses sports metaphors, circus imagery and even a pun about pirates to convince voters to vote for the Parker-Davis ticket.

The border has white letters on a blue background and reads "Uncle Sam's 'White' Elephant -'Its' Game - 'Its' Finish." Against a red background, a white elephant stand atop a brown foot-The elephant's legs are bound with shackles labeled "Protection" attached to a balland-chain labeled "The Trusts." The elephant carries a sign reading "Rooseveltism - Grand Old Pirate - 'A Safety' - Stand-Patism." The football reads "The People -Rah! Rah!! A Safety's the Score - Parker-Davis 1904."

Where did the term "white elephant" originate? As the story goes, it had something to do with the great showman, P.T. Barnum. Barnum, always looking for a new source of entertainment to bring in the crowds, was earnestly seeking a new attraction when his prize attraction, Jumbo the Elephant, was killed by a train.

Barnum needed a replacement and not just any replacement would do. Barnum decided that an albino elephant would do the trick and bring the masses back with their money. Barnum found a "white" elephant, but the problem was that most people who had paid good money to see the animal thought its color was closer to yellow than to white. Thus, the term "white elephant" represents something with a value exaggerated beyond its true worth.

In 1904, Alton B. Parker, the Democratic Presidential candidate, used this symbol to graphically portray the Grand Old Pirate's protectionist policies as shackled to the good of the trusts and not the country. The backpaper of this button reminds the wearer that the "White" Elephant GOP Recapitulation was a healthy \$41 million deficit. The GOP claimed their policies were prosperous for the country, but the truth was that the Republican Party had suckered the voter; protectionism had helped the trusts and put the people in debt. But that game was over. Parker and Davis, having exposed the "white elephant," would score a safety and prevent the Republicans from even getting into the field of play, much less achieving their goal, the Presidency. In my opinion, this is truly one of the greatest thematic campaign buttons in history.\*



1980 political cartoon reflecting some of the image problems faced by President Jimmy Carter in his re-election campaign.

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#### **BOOK REVIEW**

# **Caring For Your Collectibles**

#### **Book Review by John Lindgren**

What's the safest way to clean a collector's plate? How does one repair chips on a porcelain figurine? Can a print be hung in a sunny room without fear of discoloration? These and similar questions are on the minds of many collectors of old and new collectibles. Now a book has been produced that answers those questions. *Caring For Your Collectibles* provides more than 1,500 helpful hints on the upkeep of modern collectibles – everything from animation art to stained glass to favorite antiques.

Readers of this 208-page book (6 inches by 9 inches, softcover) will discover insider tips to help them protect their investments, extend the life of their collections, and ensure higher secondary market prices of their collectibles.

Written by Ken Arnold in an easy-to-understand format of short narratives, *Caring For Your Collectibles* is arranged alphabetically by category, including such sections as brass, bronze, ceramics, crystal, dolls, iron and metal toys, ornaments, pewter, plates, porcelain, pottery, prints, silver, textiles, and wood. A "World of Collectibles" section provides background on various collectibles and definitions of terms every collector should know. Basic care guidelines are also provided, covering such topics as light, temperature, humidity, dust and atmospheric pollutants, handling, display, cleaning, storage, and restoration and repair.

Caring For Your Collectibles is packed with information on how to clean, store, display, and preserve collectibles. The book provides practical advice with practical applications, and readers will get the collecting edge with special sections on security, insurance, and appraisals.

"When looking for an appraiser," Arnold says, "the most important criteria are experience, professional certifications, and reputation. The art of appraising takes years of study and experience. Look for someone who is knowledgeable in the types of items in your collection, and certified by a recognized appraisal body such as the ASA (American Society of Appraisers) or ISA (The International Society of Appraisers), which establish codes of ethics and expertise. Ask for references and, if there is any doubt, verify membership in appraising associations or expertise in a collectors' organization.

"Cost is also a consideration. Most appraisers charge by the hour and may include costs for transportation if they come to your home. Some antique appraisers charge an hourly, daily, or flat rate. With any appraiser, make sure you agree on fees up front so there are no surprises. Avoid appraisers that charge a percentage of the collection's total value."

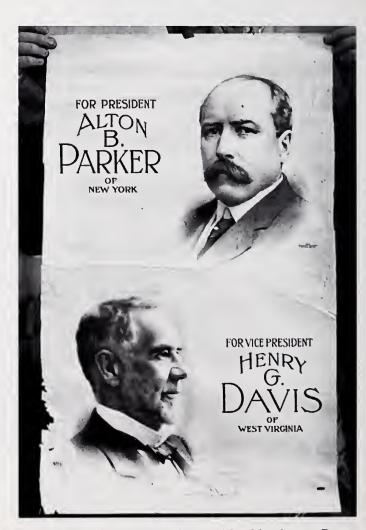
Arnold lives in Kansas and has worked as a writer, editor, teacher, and communications consultant since 1984.

In addition to writing articles for several regional and national publications, he is a regular contributor to *Collector's Mart magazine*.

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Caring For Your Collectibles can be purchased from collectibles book dealers or directly from the publisher for \$12.95 plus \$3.25 shipping for the first book and \$2 shipping for each additional book ordered.

To order the book by mail, write Krause Publications, Book Department FXR1, 700 E. State St., Iola, WI 54990-0001. Charge-card customers can order toll free: (800) 258-0929, Dept. FXR1. A free copy of the Krause Publications catalog of books and periodicals may also be obtained by calling (800) 258-0929, Dept. FXR1.★

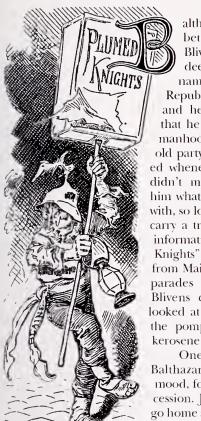


Preservation is always an issue with older items. Paper items often have wonderful graphics but offer a special challenge to preservationists.

# One Parade Too Many

(Reprinted from Puck, October 29, 1884)

Submitted by Dave Holcomb



althazar Blivens, of Brooklyn, bet on Blaine. Balthazar Blivens's soul was filled with deep awe when he heard the name of Blaine. He was a Republican of the Republicans, and he gloried in the thought that he was going to sacrifice his manhood on the altar of the good old party. Balthazar Blivens paraded whenever he had a chance. It didn't make much difference to him what organization he paraded with, so long as he was permitted to carry a transparency bearing some information in regard to "Plumed Knights" or "The Magnetic Man from Maine." When there were no parades in Brooklyn, Balthazar Blivens came to New York and looked at one here. He reveled in the pomp and circumstance and kerosene oil of the campaign.

One night, not long ago, Balthazar was in a despondent mood, for he could not find a procession. Just as he had decided to go home and polish up his torch for the next parade, he met a friend who told him that the Hocking Battery of New York was going to turn out at nine o'clock. Not a moment was to be lost. He had just time to throw on his overcoat and fare

forth into the star-gemmed night. He hastened down to the Bridge, and, depositing a nickel, rushed through the gate. He boarded the car and was soon on his way across. The lines of lights along south Street soon glimmered below him.

"If they only had a brass-band at the head of that line," he murmured: "it would be sublime."

Soon he was in a Third Avenue Elevated car gliding up-town. The rows of electric-lights in the Bowery served to inflame his imagination. He scented the torch-light from afar off. Time waxed on, and Balthazar arrived at his destination. Yes, there was no doubt about it—there was going to be a parade. Smugfaced women, unwashed babies, unkempt boys and short-haired dogs were gathering in the streets. There was a faint sweet smell of kerosene floating on the evening breeze.

Hastily Balthazar Blivens, more keen-scented in this chase than a detective on a five-hundred-dollar - reward - and - no - questions - asked watch search, ascertained the route of the procession. He quickly found him a coigne of vantage on the curbstone whence he could view the passing pageant. With great difficulty he restrained himself from going to the headquarters of the organization and asking permission to carry a transparency.

Soon the sounds of martial music smote the air. A brass-band of meagre proportions, but adequate pressure, turned a corner.

Behind them glittered a long double line of burnished helmets which flashed back the rays of lurid torches.

"Three cheers for Blaine and Logan!" shouted Balthazar.

"Hurrah!" remarked a small boy with consumptive voice.

"What's stickin' yer?" queried another.

Balthazar gazed upon the last speaker in lofty scorn. The band was passing. Then came the plumed voters and non-voters, marching gingerly over the cobble-stones. Balthazar was about to lift up his voice once more in praise of the Magnet, when he felt a fierce tug at his watch-chain. He looked quickly down, and saw that his seven-dollar nickel timepiece was gone. He glared wildly around. He beheld a wiry youth hastening toward the street-corner. In the youth's hand was the watch.

Balthazar Blivens was a runner. He had been a member of the Williamsburgh Athletic Club, and could do a hundred yards in ten seconds with all his clothes on. He gathered himself together with all the grace of a Harlem gazelle, and shot into space. The youth saw him shoot, and with wily intent turned directly across the line of the procession, hoping to be lost in the crowd.

But the line was carrying a rope.

In the twinkling of an eye the wiry youth had struck the rope with the waistband of his trousers and turned a flying somersault over it. Balthazar's speed was mighty, and he could not stop. He followed the wiry youth, somesault and all.

The next moment Balthazar found himself in the grasp of a powerful hand, and received a thwack on the head which made him see a whole torch-light procession at once.

"Try ter break de line, will yer? Yer dog-gone Butler crank [thwack]. T'ink yer kin spile de parade, does ver?" [thwack].

It was a Plumed Knight who thus spoke and thwacked.

"But," gasped Balthazar: "he's got my –"

"Shut up! [thwack] or I'll bust yer durned head!" [thwack].

And bestowing a farewell kick upon Balthazar's prostrate form, the eminent member of the Hocking Battery left him groveling. Slowly he climbed to his feet. Where was the wiry youth who had taken the watch?

He was gone. So was the watch.

Balthazar Blivens, of Brooklyn, will vote for Belva Lockwood.★



